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OUR POLITICAL PRACTICE.

PART SECOND.

SECTION 1.

Containing a Letter of Protest to Gen. Henry Wilson.

In public affairs, my lord, cunning, let it be ever so well wrought, will not conduct a man honorably through life. * * * Believe me, my good lord, you are not admired in the same degree in which you are detested. — *Junius*.

He had served and betrayed a succession of governments; but he had timed all his treacheries so well that, through all revolutions, his fortunes had constantly been rising. — *Macaulay*.

All republicans will agree that the great duty of the day is to put down the rebellion and re-establish over all the land the just authority of the General Government. Nor will any thinking republican deny that, with this duty, there is still another which we cannot forego or evade. It is of primary importance; it is constantly existing; it is inevitable and commanding. It belongs to the structure of our civil system; underlying it indeed, and supporting the very pillars on which it rests. If we abandon the support the whole fabric of our freedom falls. The pillars of our system are Intelligence and Morality. It is our duty to sustain them; and as we fail therein the temple totters.

The war is transient. Like all wars it will have an end. We believe it will have an auspicious end; but whether favorable or adverse, our liberty will remain if we remain true to its

essential principles. We are to support Intelligence; we are to support Morality; we are to support both, vigilantly, in the relations of politics, of party, and of government, one and all, for the three are inseparable.* Our governments, in their practice, are the expression, largely, of our politics and our parties. If the latter become debauched, the former become corrupt. If there is poison in the fountain the stream is tainted. "But what," asks Edmund Burke, the man of

Truths serene
Made visible in beauty, that shall glow
In everlasting freshness.

"But what," he asks, "is liberty without wisdom and without virtue? "It is," he answers, "the greatest of all possible evils; for it is folly, vice and madness, without tuition or restraint."

The vices of our politics have become alarming. "If a higher elevation of purpose, a pure patriotism, and a loftier disinterestedness cannot be infused into the management of our political affairs, our system of government will prove a disastrous failure," What, then, are our duties? Ought we not to canvass the whole compass of our political practice? to rise to the just demands of an imperilled country? to exert the prerogatives of freemen in the preservation of a republic? to oppose the usages of vice that have obtained among us, and exhibit without reserve the betrayers of the public trusts? Ought we not to arouse as one, and re-establish the ascendancy of the civic virtues? Shall freemen shrink from the assailing vices, merging manliness in fear? Or shall they cherish an independence in the pursuits of patriotism, and defend the elements of our liberties in any dangers?

* The Morality we are to support, is, in the opinion of the writer, the Morality of the New Testament, evinced in practical self-denial, equity and benevolence, without which, he believes, no republic can endure.

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" Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,
 Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye,
 Thy steps I follow with my bosom bare,
 Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky."*

Our duty is in vigilance, and it involves action; it may be in toil; it may be in peril; it is still the price of liberty, and is still our duty. It is the language of *Junius*, and the language of a common intelligence as well, that both liberty and property are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit enough to defend them. And who, pray, but the people are to defend the virtues that underlie our system? Can it be doubted that it is the duty of every citizen of a republic to oppose vice in public relations? Can this be doubted? The purity of our government depends mainly on the purity of our parties and politics; and it belongs to the people to maintain that purity.

Of our public men there is perhaps no one in Massachusetts who has done more to debauch our politics than Henry Wilson. We are debauched by his example; we are debauched by his success. Our young men have seen the way of promotion to be the way that he has taken. Ability and worth have been thrust aside by modes of practice that are his. Through him the shame is ours that our Commonwealth's exalted honors inure to cunning; and the Senate of the nation has been forced to forego a high integrity for such aid as he could furnish. We make no objection to his republican principles, held or avowed; or to his aid of those principles in our passing affairs, whatever that aid may have been. The republican principles we claim as our own; but they are none the less ours from a sup-

* But even in England, literary men do not sufficiently appreciate the true dignity of their profession; nor do they sufficiently understand that the foundation of all real grandeur is a spirit of proud and lofty independence.—*Buckle's Essays—Mill on Liberty.*

A firm unshaken uncorrupted soul
 Amid a sliding age, and burning strong,
 Not vainly blazing, for thy country's weal,
 A steady spirit regularly free.—*Thomson.*

port by him; and our parties are open to all. We object to him as a politician in the sphere of manœuvre. We object to his modes of practice; to his means of eminence. We demand success through honor, and what honor has he revealed? We demand integrity in our politics, and he applies dexterity. He has instituted the means of an unscrupulous selfishness where a self-sacrificing patriotism is due. The republic lives in virtue, not in vice, and should promote merit only. It cannot prosper in Mr. Wilson's ways. His very friends should be satisfied with the honors he has had, and should now accede to the requirements of a republican integrity. Both the honor of the Commonwealth and the well being of the nation are concerned in our election of a senator.

It is often said of Mr. Wilson that he is doing very well; that though he may have been vicious in his political practice, yet he has served so faithfully in his sphere as senator that it were well to retain him in the place.

Such a sentiment betrays an insensibility to the evils of *success* in political jugglery. Our form is a *system*; one part of which is the promotion of ability and worth. Ambidexterity has, in that system, no legitimate place. We must fail in our efforts for a republican government if we set aside virtue and elevate vice, though vice may, at times, conduct itself well, after securing the fruit of its crimes. Should the burglar, in seizing a jeweller's store, rely on securing immunity for the past and a correct reputation in the future, by properly conducting the jeweller's trade? What valuables were safe if such a usage prevailed? No more can politicians, through the practice of baseness, secure our republican emoluments and honors with safety to the republican cause.

But we are not now considering his conduct as senator. Of that it were enough at present to say that he surely is doing no more than his duty; and we may add that men of ability and honor are the men, over others, for the effective performance of duty. In a republican government such men are entitled, by

republican principles, to the positions of honor and trust. And their action in office commands our respect; their characters help us to estimate their measures. We doubt the measures if we distrust the men.*

The objections to Mr. Wilson, in the mind of the author, are not peculiar to him; they are general to all;—they are public in their character, and not especially personal.† To him the Senator has done no wrong separately. He has, indeed, been conciliatory; he has even been serviceable; and that, too, to a degree which would have disarmed any opponent who would set aside duty in the affairs of the country for the more immediate purposes of self. But the writer has sought no favor, would accept no favor, that would restrict his pre-

* Mr. Wilson told us, in a recent speech (in Faneuil Hall, Sept. 6th,) that men were nothing—ideas, principles, policy everything." But we cannot separate men from their acts. We are told by *Junius* that "*measures and not men*, is the common cant of affected moderation; a base counterfeit language, fabricated by knaves, and made current among fools. Such gentle censure is not fitted to the present degenerate state of society. What does it avail," he asks, "to expose the absurd contrivance, or pernicious tendency of measures, if the man who advises or executes, shall be suffered, not only to escape with impunity, but even to preserve his power, and insult us with the favor of his sovereign?" And shall our political charlatans escape with impunity, preserve their power, and insult us with the favor of the people, under the plea that men are nothing?

† The writer would not deny that he feels indignant towards Mr. Wilson; but it is only the indignation that all ought to feel, who, on working earnestly in party relations, on just principles, for the cause and the country, find both themselves and the cause used in the merest selfishness, through the ambidextrous tactics of an unscrupulous aspirant. It is wholly amazing—it always must be—that Mr. Wilson should have dared so to treat his associates. He betrayed them; and if there were any of the number who approved of his conduct, holding *his* success to be the proper sanction of its fitness, then theirs also is the shame of a dishonest practice.

And it was under his lead that the general system of tactics in party affairs revealed itself in its depravity, to the writer, during years of effort for correct practices in party management, — and vain effort, save in the narrowest action in home affairs.

"Forced to deplore when impotent to save."

The triumphs of the merest selfishness were constant; and success gave strength to every species of dishonor. The difficulty lay far back, with the people. It was clearly in the popular negligence; and the remedy was just as clearly in a revival of vigilance.

rogatives as an independent citizen, concerned in the highest relations of freemen. The first occasion of his opposition it were not irrelevant to state.

Subsequently to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for several years, he labored unceasingly, as a politician, with others, to secure the establishment of a Republican party, for patriotic ends, and especially to oppose the aggressions of Slavery. This labor was thwarted again and again, by the the persistent selfishness of a few politicians, of whom Mr. Wilson was a conspicuous chief. They demanded and secured their own ambitions, uniformly to the delay and dishonor of the cause. They used the machinery of party for *self*. They superseded at once, they wholly ignored, a primary and essential republican prerogative: *the selection by the people, from among the people, of the ablest and best for public position*. They selected themselves; they served each other; they bent the policy of the party, and even its being, to personal aims in honors and spoils: and that, too, often in a shameless defiance of the commonest honesty and honor.

Were these the men to institute government? to make and administer the laws of a Republic? Was not the source of our public corruptions manifestly in the character of our public men?

The author at last was forced to the conviction, from his home experience in the political field, as well as from a view of the practice abroad, that our primary politics—surely in Massachusetts, and no less so elsewhere—the politics of our parties, the politics of our governments, neglected in their primary relations by the people, instituted and held by adroit politicians, have become the politics of an unscrupulous selfishness in the prosecution of honors and spoils; a selfishness fruitful of official corruptions, manifestly subversive of the public good, and, indeed, subversive of the republican being. Even slavery seemed, as a public evil, to be more than matched by another; and our perils from the rebellion, however alarming, appeared

less than our perils from the vices of politics. Indeed, the vices of *self* may be said to underlie whatever evils we meet in our republican practice. They underlie slavery; they underlie the rebellion;* *and they secure their expression through corrupt politicians*, who serve not only to institute wrong, but also as opponents in every effort for good. Can we secure reformation, or any proper success, in war, in peace, in any laudable aim, through the action of mere debauchees? Can we rely on vice to institute virtue? Will Satan serve us in an opposition to sin? These questions were present. The answer was obvious; and the conviction remained that, "If a higher elevation of purpose, a purer patriotism, and a loftier disinterestedness, cannot be infused into the management of our political affairs, our system of government will prove a disastrous failure."† And a later experience has confirmed the conviction.

* *The Cause of the Rebellion*.—The efficient cause was the passion for political power on both sides, not controlled by the moral considerations which should control that passion.—*Hon. Geo. S. Hillard*.

Demagogues at the North rode into office on the anti-slavery hobby. Demagogues at the South rode into office on the pro-slavery hobby. The two antagonizing elements met at Washington, and there commenced the tug of war—the war of wind, the sure precursor of the war of blows.—*The Jackson Mississippian*.

† From an address to the Democracy, by Maj. Gen. John A. Dix, Nov. 1, 1864. It is a notable production in these times of subserviency, since the author treats mainly of *his own party*, and of the vicious influences inducing its decline. He thus begins *at home* in support of honest and elevated politics. Hence his strength. When others, able men, of whatever party, will do the same, we may hope for the Republic.

The following paragraphs are from the same source, and are presented as having a manifest relevancy and significance in the subject of this Essay :

"The Democratic party had its origin in the two closing years of the eighteenth century. Its organization has had an efficient and unbroken existence for sixty-six years. For more than a quarter of a century it bore the name of Republican. This designation was exchanged for that of Democratic, under the popular impulse given to its practical measures and its abstract opinions by the political school of Jefferson. For nearly half a century it was a bold, manly, upright, consistent and fearless exponent of its organic principles. It had, in its early stages the best of all conservative accessories—the opposition of a party (the Federalists) as truthful and as resolute as itself. Whenever the public honor or the public interest was in peril, it was always the first to rush to arms; always the last to quit the field; never consenting to lay aside its armor till the country's cause was vindicated. Controlled and illustrated in all its acts by a lofty and disinterested spirit of patriotism, it gained, and for more

The rebellion broke out. It found us in the rule, not of merit and patriotism, ability and worth — it found us in the rule of corrupt politicians. The system of "spoils," introduced years ago, had attained a predominance in our political modes; and it is probably true that, in the perversion of the means of a patriotic people to the purposes of self in ambition and spoils, our practice, of late, stands out unmatched in the history of civilized men. The sacrifices of the war, in life, in treasure, have been enormously augmented, beyond all question, through the vicious practices of our political rule. Corrupt politicians have essentially swayed us in our leading affairs, both civil and military. It is not especially a fault of the present administration. Mr. Lincoln is honest. It is the fault of a system which, in the last thirty years, through the popular negligence, has superseded a due republican patriotism: a system which devolves all incipient action, in the relations of politics, parties and government, not on a patriotic and intelligent people, but on a few self-

than forty years preserved unimpaired, the respect, the confidence, and the support of the American people. In 1840 it was overthrown under the influence of a great commercial crisis, but not until a section of its followers, more solicitous for their own interests than the welfare of the country, had adulterated its creed and its policy by the introduction of maxims and measures at war with its fundamental principles.

It was at this juncture that its opponents, having become demoralized by a long-continued series of defeats, adopted as a rule for the selection of its candidates for the highest offices, the principle of availability, instead of talent and experience, laying the foundation of a far more pernicious and pervading system of demoralization. The success of the opposition candidates, thus selected in 1840, was followed by the Democratic candidates, selected on the same principle in 1844. From that period there has been a gradual deterioration in the qualifications of those who have been put forward to fill public office — not merely in the highest official positions, but in all the departments of the general Government, and in the States. The legislative as well as the executive branches have participated in general depravation. For this scheme of political management, having immediate party success, and not the permanent welfare of the country for its object, both the principal political organizations are alike responsible. And it is impossible to conceal the humiliating truth that the evils the country is now suffering, beginning in a loose and unsteady administration of the public affairs, and ending in a treasonable attempt to overthrow the Government, are all due to incompetency and inexperience. A great government demands, as an indispensable condition of its success, great qualities in those who control and direct its movements. It is under this system of political management that we have been plunged into a war larger in its dimensions, and pregnant with more important consequence to the human race, especially to the cause of stable government, than any intestine conflict in the annals of society."

seeking and unscrupulous men, the legitimate progeny of our system of "spoils." * *They* institute our affairs; they direct them largely.

* "They see nothing wrong in the rule, that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy,"—was the language of Hon. William L. Marcy, in the United States Senate, in the Administration of Andrew Jackson. The debate is of interest, in view of the magnitude of the spoils system, and its power and progress in the work of debauchment and ruin. It was on the nomination of Mr. Van Buren as Minister to England, and seems to have been the first marked recognition of the adoption of the system in the National Government.

Mr. Clay said—I have another objection to his nomination. I believe, upon circumstances that satisfy my mind, that to the gentleman is principally to be ascribed the introduction of the odious system of proscription for the exercise of the elective franchise in the Government of the United States. I understand that it is the system on which the party in his own State, of which he is the reputed head, constantly acts. He was among the first of the Secretaries to apply that system to the dismissal of clerks in his Department, known to me to be highly meritorious, and among them one who is now a Representative in the other House. It is a detestable system, drawn from the worst periods of the Roman republic: and if it were to be perpetuated, if the offices, honors and dignities of the people were to be put up to a scramble, to be decided by the result of every Presidential election, our Government and institutions, becoming intolerable, would finally end in a despotism as inexorable as that of Constantinople.

Mr. Marcy said—One of the grounds of opposition to the Minister to London, taken by the Senator from Kentucky, was the pernicious system of party politics adopted by the present Administration, by which the honors and offices were put up to be scrambled for by partisans, &c.,—a system, which the Minister to London, as the Senator from Kentucky alleged, had brought here from the State in which he formerly lived, and had for so long a time acted a conspicuous part in its political transactions. I know, sir, said Mr. M., that it is the habit of some gentlemen to speak with censure or reproach of the politics of New York. Like other States, we have contests, and, as a necessary consequence, triumphs and defeats. The State is large, with great and diversified interests; in some parts of it, commerce is the object of general pursuit; in others, manufactures and agriculture are the chief concerns of its citizens. We have men of enterprise and talents, who aspire to public distinction. It is natural to expect from these circumstances, and others that might be alluded to, that her politics should excite more interest at home, and attract more attention abroad, than those of any other State in the confederacy.

It may be, sir, that the politicians of the United States are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are, as to disclosing the principles on which they act. They boldly preach what they practise. When they are contending for victory, they avow their intention of enjoying the fruits of it. If they are defeated, they expect to retire from office. If they are successful, they claim, as a matter of right, the advantages of success. They see nothing wrong in the rule, that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy.

But if there be anything wrong in the policy which the Senator from Kentucky has so strongly reprobated, he should know that this policy was not confined to the Minister to London and his friends in New York, but is practised by his (Mr. Clay's) own political friends in that State; he should know that if to one man, any more than any other one living, the existence of that policy is to be ascribed, it is to one of the Senator's own political friends. The practice of making extensive changes in the officers, on the change of parties in that

And is this self-government? Is ours a republic, the hope of mankind? Or is it become essentially "The paradise of demagogues"?

Our affairs are the people's, not the mere politicians'; and the people should assume the political action. Political Integrity should be reinstated. 'It is a primary cause in its relation to causes; for, how can we count on an adequate progress, in any department of republican effort, if we are forced to proceed through dishonor and fraud?' How, indeed, with vice in dominion, can we count on a continued republican being? †

From these considerations, since 1854, the author, in his efforts in political affairs, has aimed to promote Integrity. And in aid of the end he has freely considered the conduct of men in public relations. He has sought to expose political vice. From better opportunity he has observed Mr. Wilson more

State, was begun, I believe, before the nominee was upon the political stage; certainly while he was quite a young man, and before he had acquired great consideration in political affairs. I must be permitted, sir, to say that, of all the party men with whom I have acted or been particularly acquainted, (and the number of such is not small,) I know of no one who has acted with, or advised to, more moderation than the person whose nomination we are now considering. —*From Gale & Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress.*

† It is certain that the founders of our system counted on "cardinal and essential virtues" as the indispensable fruits of a successful republic. What, then, are our prospects, if the reverse of those virtues mark our political practice? What judgment had they of the result of the experiment in the event of such fruits as we too freely exhibit?

Mr. Madison said to the people of the United States: "No instance has heretofore occurred, nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all the other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation, and fulfil the ends of government, be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of Liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed; and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favorable influence on the rights of mankind. If, on the other side, our governments should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of these cardinal and essential virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed; the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them; and their patrons and friends exposed to be insulted and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation."

than he has any other delinquent who has achieved an effective public position. He has, therefore, spoken more freely of him.

And he holds it as true, that the effective enemies of the republican cause, are not, especially, in the opposing party; but that the perilous and abiding "Copperheads" of our system, are found in the factious demagogues.* A ravenous throng in both our parties, they seek our positions, they seek our spoils; and long after the crushing of this wicked rebellion, they will bruise the heel of our republican form. The true republican will bruise their heads. The strife is constant. It belongs to our system. But the final subjection of vice is sure. The man who is false in public relations, stands inevitably doomed. He opposes the Infinite; the cause is His, and

"Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully."

Since, then, the evils of our political practice are not especially found with our political opponents; since the Republicans, also, are given to "spoils," reform, with the Republicans, should begin at home. We should act for the *cause*, and not in *faction*.

Party in the pursuits of self, is faction; and the rule of faction is the rule of demagogues. We should act at once. Said a leading journal a few weeks ago: "When the war with

* Who are the Copperheads? Opprobrious denunciation of the opposing party is too common. It is, usually, at the instigation of leaders who have a personal interest in stirring up the fire and fury of party. And so successful are they, that, too often, the honest men on both sides, who have no chance, no hope, no expectation whatever of "spoils," still, are arrayed adversely in the bitterest enmity, neither set all the while having the remotest aim or motive outside of the public good. The people, at length, become spell-bound by party names and associations, and tamely serve the purposes of the merest demagogues. "Pitch into the Copperheads" is the order that the self-seekers pass along the party lines; and so they — pitch in!

Still, there is merit in the injunction; but then, the question recurs — Who are the Copperheads? It seems to me, that "the perilous and abiding Copperheads of our system are found in the factious demagogues."

the rebels is hushed, we shall have to begin a war with the spoilsmen."† And has it not been thus for many a year?

† When the war with the Rebels is hushed, we shall have to begin a war with the spoilsmen. The Democratic party inaugurated the system — subsequently too faithfully followed by their opponents — of distributing offices among political partisans as a reward for services rendered, till it has become to be accepted, if not as a part of our polity, at least as a necessary evil inherent in our form of government. The abuses which have grown out of this system are gigantic, and the knife of the political surgeon must be unsparingly used, or else the whole body politic will become a mass of incurable gangrene. The loudest to cry out against them, when they cannot feed upon the corruption, are, of course, the Democrats, for it was they who sowed the first seeds; but the party which hopes and shall deserve to command the confidence of the people is that which when in power shall apply an unsparing hand to the evil, and if they cannot correct it altogether, shall, at least top off the most crying abuses and restore something like purity to the administration of civil affairs. The purifying process of four years' suffering from civil war can hardly fail to open the eyes of the people to many wrongs which in days of prosperity were hardly noticed, and it is not too much to hope that we shall yet learn that in a Republic the business of government belongs to the people themselves, and cannot be left with impunity in the hands of unscrupulous politicians, and that government, to answer its true purpose, must first of all be pure. These are, to be sure, truisms, but truisms which have had merely an abstract acceptance, without any acknowledgment anywhere of a public duty to apply them in our public relations. But we must make the application, and carry it out rigidly in practice, if we are ever to have a popular government what it should be — an honest and economical administration of affairs, with the protection of all the rights of the humblest citizen.— *New York Tribune*, Sept. 8th, 1864.

If the party in power is to "apply an unsparing hand to the evil," should not the Republican party make the application? If the "purifying powers" of four years of war has not failed to "open the eyes of the people," may we not see now that "the business of government belongs to the people themselves?" May we not realize that it "cannot be left with impunity in the hands of unscrupulous politicians?" May we not understand "that government, to answer its true purpose, must first of all be pure?" If these are "truisms" which have "merely an abstract acceptance," should not the *Tribune* make a practical "acknowledgment" of the "duty to apply them in our public relations?" If "we must make the application," should not the *Tribune* begin? Should it be willing to put off "a war with the spoilsmen" till "the war with the rebels is hushed?" Who can tell us how long the war with the rebels will last? how long the practices of these same spoilsmen may protract its baleful existence? what amount of sacrifice in the lives of associates, what amount of debt, what amount of taxes, through the abounding processes of spoils and plunder, the people will be able and willing to endure? Who, indeed, can assure us that the war may not *fail*, through the corruption of our political practice? The *New York Times* has said: "We are spending at a frightful rate. Our taxes are stretched almost to the extremity. There is a limit even to the power of this nation in bearing a public debt. It should always be borne in mind that national bankruptcy is among the things possible. Of the crushing of the

There are present exigencies that prevent an action; the exigencies of party; the exigencies of a narrow, a circumscribed self. What party press has ever yet been ready to assail persistently, in its own party, the ruinous vices of our political practice? What political press has *not* been ready to assail them in its political opponents? When our vices are assailed for the sake of virtue, and not in a mere devotion to faction; when our parties are held subservient to truth, to a high intelligence, to a just morality, and not to the selfishness of mere politicians, we may anticipate the triumph of the Republican form. But while they persistently assail each other, for vices that belong alike to each, they embitter prejudice, they enhance strife, they perfect hate, they elect the self-seeking politicians who lead, and they essentially fail in the cause of the Republic. Our public corruptions steadily increase. Our hope is *not* in political leaders, who have aims of *self* in party intensity; nor is our highest hope in a party press. Our hope is in the

rebellion there can be no doubt, but it may be gained through the destruction of the public credit. Bankruptcy in the Free States would be a calamity of which in all the material evils of this war we have never yet experienced even the resemblance." There are others who think, "If the public credit be destroyed, the rebellion will not be crushed."

And should honest republicans postpone their duty? It was not thus with our fathers, the founders of the republic. "We are not to wait," says Daniel Webster, "till great public mischiefs come, till the government is overthrown, or liberty itself put in extreme jeopardy." "Those fathers," he continues, accomplished the Revolution on a strict question of principle." * * * "They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration." And "here," said Edmund Burke, "they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance, by the badness of the principle. They argue misgovernment at a distance; and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze." But we, their descendants, are willing to wait! The "abuses," we admit, They have become "gigantic." "The whole body politic," without an excision, "will become a mass of incurable gangrene." Yet the spoilsmen may pass! We are willing to wait till "the war with the rebels is hushed." Our party subserviency ought to alarm us, in view of the rectitude, in view of the vigilance of our fathers, the founders of the Republic, — it ought to alarm us in view of the National peril.

virtue and intelligence of the people; in their sense of the evils of our political practice; and in their just appreciation, under a persistent vigilance, of the legitimate means of reform. The upright men of our political parties must remove, respectively, the corrupt politicians, and place their superior men in the lead. Their power is ample, if they act in unison. *Each party must begin the reform at home.** And this is the ground of my immediate action.

As a Massachusetts republican I oppose Mr. Wilson. For our eminent posts, in honors, in trusts, I regard him an unsuitable man. I object to his re-election to the United States Senate. Nay, more; I ask him to resign. And to illustrate further our political practice, as well as to vindicate my objection to him, I beg to submit the following letter:

ON FALSE POLITICS: A LETTER OF PROTEST.

There is no right more clear in law, and no duty more binding in conscience, than those of the full and free exposure and discussion, by public journals and by citizens, of all those elements of a candidate's public and private character, and public and private history, that go to determine his fitness for the office for which he is nominated, and to inform the people as to the propriety of his election.—*Springfield Republican.*

If, however, any should admit the truth, but regret the tone of what I have said, I can only pray them to consider how much less harm is done in the world by ungrateful boldness than by untimely fear.—*Ruskin.*

I would that we made the freedom of the people our first consideration.—*Buckle.*

To Senator Wilson.

December, 1864.

Sir: Your relation to the Commonwealth is such that we can neither forget your existence, nor escape your presence. Through your own fatuity, your being is manifest in the endur-

* "We want what will take the place, and have some, at least, of the effect, of old-fashioned authority. * * And if you ask me what the modern substitute is, I am at no loss for a reply. It is an enlightened public opinion, sustained by the great body of educated men, and directed and enforced by the highest intelligence in the community. * * They would make it their first care, each one to make his own party what it ought to be; that is to say, to bring it under the influence of its best minds, of the highest and soundest statesmanship it can

ing name of Senator; and we are compelled to behold you in the bold prominence of the position you have twice secured. Unhappy man! An avowed patriot, blindly bent on the free exhibit of your own dishonor! A determined statesman, scheming to secure an enduring stigma to your own name! Let me once more tell you, if you maintain a command in the affairs of state, and enstamp your name on the passing times, you will secure the historic eminence of your shame and make it immortal. It is indeed strange that a New England man, and he, moreover, a national Senator from an ancient Commonwealth of marked morality, should brave the behests of the higher law, and stand opposed to Integrity. You will be overborne at last. 'Truth and duty can never be violated with impunity; and in politics, as in other things, there is indeed merit in the homely axiom, that Honesty is the best policy.'

In a Republic, the people are the conservators of the public morals; and when a public wrong is seen in a servant of the people, any citizen of the Commonwealth has a right to resent it. It is right to oppose you. Success, with you, is not a duty. You secure your triumphs through the aid of vice; and the example you afford corrupts our morals. Success a *duty*, is success through *virtue*, and is approved of God; while you, in our common morals, from your steady conduct, stand condemned.

Success a duty! Are we, then, left at last to learn from you, an eminent exemplar, that corrupt appliances are proper to an eminent success? Does our morality remain all unsettled, and is it indeed now true that the end sanctifies the means? May sons of the Pilgrims abandon truth, and hold it no longer an inheritance for transmission to sons interminably? Shall we henceforth let integrity alone, and rest in the happy faith that

boast. Thus, though acting in different parties, they might still be said to act together; for they would act in the same general spirit, and for the same general result, — namely, to make all parties more loyal and more patriotic." — *From an address before the Alumni of Harvard College, by James Walker, D. D.*

success is duty, though achieved in marked outrage of common honesty and honor? Is this, then, the sum of your lesson to the youth among us, and shall we stand silently at hand to attest its merit? No, Sir, no! If we could see you in your seat, content and quiet, a Senator through some common casualty, or were you in any other sphere allied less closely to the public morals and the civil laws, we might forego a protest, look on you in contemptuous pity, and remain at rest. But your steady conduct forbids our silence. Sinuous, impelled by self, seizing expedients, crossing the track of patriotism and bearing down our principles, you become, in the prosecution of your own aims, a steady barrier to our just pursuits. Your tactics mark our past events for years, and resting upon the record, are ready for review. Alas! supple, sly and keen, the politician, persistent in pursuit of self, may seize position, if he always speaks a patriot's words, assumes his bearing and affects his acts. He may walk among our offices of trust and dignity, from place to place made honorable in the past through others' merits, and by securing triumphs through chicanery, impair our faith in virtue. He subverts our morals. We relax in honesty. *Success*, not *truth*, appears a duty. We furnish men whose history marks the way to eminence without integrity; and knaves in politics, become our patriots.

In the account with you, I would, for myself alone, forego every exaction. I would persist only in the imperative demands of truth. And though I could never forget that an atonement is due for your conduct in our past affairs, I would remember that it is due to no one alone, but equally to all the people. You have wronged the Commonwealth. Through your malversations the highest virtues of the public stand abased,—the truth, the integrity, the common honesty that have been inbred among us always, and that are to be cherished and maintained forever. To yourself, Senator, you ought to be both politic and just. You should own the past in the fullest openness; and, thus, by removing the offending causes, escape

the force that is gathering against you, Important affairs in your public relations await the inevitable adjustment. Why, then, will you not admit your errors, and start anew in the career of progress? A noble soul may bend to truth in the acknowledgment of wrong, and pay the homage proudly.

“ This above all ; to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.” *

It is a wretched pride that makes us cowards. And are not the people, generous to a fault, manifesting towards you an amazing forbearance? Has a kind Commonwealth made you her son, and cannot you ask her to forgive your errors? You can never ignore the facts that preceded your election to the United States Senate. You can neither deny their power nor evade their effects; and your efforts to escape, although you are strong, are inevitably futile and vain. In a just pride of the old Commonwealth, her proper sons will always forbid it, and continue to defend her fame. May any man blotch it, refuse to atone, and continue to maintain a command?

And by what process, Senator, did you secure your seat? Was it through a blasting infamy; and do you intend, in spite of it, to stand before us always in full assurance? Will you maintain, through life, the prominence you assumed at the forming of the party you betrayed? For it was through a treachery surpassingly base that you secured, at first, your

* And Bukle tells us that “ our first and paramount duty is to be true to ourselves;” and he adds, “ There is hardly any vice that so debases us in our own esteem, as moral cowardice. There is hardly any virtue which so elevates our character as moral courage.”

“ One self-approving hour, whole years outweighs
Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas.”

The merit of these moral sentiments every well-trained man will admit; but they may be repeated for the benefit of many self-made men. Indeed, such men are apt to be poorly made, and the country suffers from their bad breeding. *Smartness*, in their minds, too often takes the place of moral principle; and even in the public mind, *success* serves, alas, too well, as the sanction of their conduct.

present position. The subject pains me. I might leave you to the infamy that is surely to be yours when a just morality shall secure its triumph. I might be silent; but the influence of your conduct, with its extraordinary success, bears malignly on the morals of the times. You wrong us in the present. You wrong us in the future. You undermine the morals of our youth. The language of your triumph is, "Compass success, young men, through vice, and then be honest if you may." And shall they abandon the way of virtue as the way of fame, to seize success through bald dishonor? Dare you openly utter the loud language of your steady conduct? Never! Shirking the just issues of a consuming selfishness, you will remain in a blatant patriotism. You will strive in all your strength to cover your past conduct, and avert our vision. But we are compelled to behold you. Your success stands towering before us in an infamous example. You are a senator from Massachusetts!

And in your place as senator you intend, no doubt, to secure an honorable name. You intend, moreover, to maintain steadily a public devotion to the cause of freedom. Always, concurrently with your own ambition, you aim to accomplish both. I grant it. I also recognize the force of character that has thus far served you in each emergency. You have an inborn strength. The coarseness of its culture is from the accidents of life; and the coarseness that remains we can the better endure, as we contemplate the achievements of your will. You have supplanted accident, and seized success. Alas! that to enjoy triumph you should have debauched truth, and brought dishonor on the household of the state! But we may remain just. We may properly regard your better conduct wherever it appears; and, although you continue obnoxious to truth, and a dangerous man in the Commonwealth, we may forbear to pronounce you as uniformly false, or the worst of men in every relation.

In manners you are courteous and conciliatory. You are

generous in all that never trenches on your own ambition; and you steadily adhere to the political associates who serve you steadily in your advancing course. The comforts of the kitchen you are ever careful to secure to those who bear you upward to the hall. You do not grovel in pursuit of wealth, and if you had been spared the pursuit of politics, no doubt you would have paid your debts more promptly. But the wrong remains. It rests in your devotions, — self is God. Him you worship in political ambition; and in the service of your deity you sacrifice honor, and duty, and truth.

Hypocrisy, it is said, is the ready homage of a knave to virtue. Your obeisance was in the proper place, — your homage a fit one. We are not, in Massachusetts, without the virtues of freemen; and when you witnessed our alarm in the spring of '54, in view of the impending Douglas iniquity, you saw its source in the love of Liberty, and you saw the direction of its power. Then, Senator, came pouring upon us the whelming current of your homage. When, in the spring of '54, you publicly spoke on the repeal of the Compromise, and for a new party Union, you displayed a surpassing patriotism. It remained unapproached, save by that of your associates, whose devotion you ventured to bespeak. Did you not declare you sought no office? That the love of Liberty alone possessed you? That you would be all too happy could you serve as a *private* in the gathering *ranks* of freedom? That the trusts and honors of political position should be freely bestowed on the whigs and democrats, whose co-operation in this new Union you so earnestly sought to secure? Magnanimous man! For yourself content; content for your friends; content in the cause — a patriot! In the spring of '54, among a patriotic people who were meditating action for a Republican party, you abounded in pledges, for yourself and your associates, to an unselfish, magnanimous and patriotic course.

And how did you redeem those voluntary pledges, how did you vindicate this generous homage, in aid of imperilled

liberty? Will you gravely aver that you did not, from the outset, design for yourself an eminent place? Will you say, unqualifiedly, on the word of a senator, that neither tricks nor juggles were a part of your practice to secure our political honors? Will you venture to tell us that no honest associate, properly mindful of your public pledges, personally urged you to cease your efforts to secure to *yourself* our nomination for Governor? And will you deny that, in response, you boldly declared you would not be driven from your course as a candidate? I believe you will venture no such averments, no such denial. Nor will you deny that your personal friends, especially men of duplex politics, were indefatigably for you before our convention. And you secured the position! You became our nominee, the first nominee, in State or Nation, that the Republican party presented to the public; and you gave to the public a letter of acceptance, without giving to consistency the homage of a blush. Through a forfeiture of faith, you secured the position. We shall see the fidelity in which you retained it.

Scarce a month had passed from the date of your letter accepting the Republican nomination for Governor, when, having passed in secret to the American party, you appeared in a secret American convention. Nor was you ejected in the scorn and loathing due from a delicate sense of honor. No; you was received to its bosom; you partook in the counsels that secured the selection of Henry J. Gardner to serve as the candidate of the American party, in opposition to *yourself* as the Republican candidate! Fresh in honors, laden with trusts, the first of all Republican nominees, you secretly placed yourself, your trusts, your honors, all, at the feet of an opposing political party, and served yourself in political ambition. Through the matchless shame of such a treachery, you ruined our party, disgraced our name, and secured a seat in the Senate. O virtuous statesman! O lofty exemplar! How much regard, I

pray you tell me, can the *patriot* have for his country's honor, who has no honor of his own to regard?

Our Commonwealth once stood pre-eminent in whatever pertains to political integrity. I need not narrate the events of the decline. You have known them well. You have held a controlling power in the connection. In our downward career, you have maintained a command; and always bold, conscious always of your eminence in manœuvre. You have even seized the events of disgrace, induced by your own surpassing baseness, and with a surpassing skill have promptly applied them to secure your own continuous triumphs. Sad fatuity! In your eminence is your infamy. Your steps in progress are steps in shame; and even the minor details of your political practice, though obscure in the minutiae and of little consequence, are yet contemptible, and hence significant. I may remind you of your conduct on the exposure of your duplicity. The treachery it involved aroused indignation. It prompted an energetic protest; and then you professed, through a familiar friend, a readiness to resign as the Republican nominee. You professed to offer a written resignation; while your faithful friend slyly suggested to the Republican State Committee, that it was *not* a resignation, save and except in a mere *Pickwickian* sense. In short, your practice served you well. You devised a sham, to appease the Republicans and shelter your shame—a sham resignation; and your ready friend, with a due assurance assumed before the Committee, that the generous document would be kindly declined. Friend and candidate! Immaculate men! What Boston, or Concord, or Bunker's Hill, shall bear the monument that grateful men shall place, to commemorate deeds in the political relation so illustrious in truth, fidelity and honor—so eminently sly, supple and keen?

While your election to the Senate was still in suspense, you publicly avowed a renovated creed in the sphere of political humanity. You proclaimed a zeal for the rights of the *minds*,

no less than the *bodies* of men. Freedom was in danger from the power of the Pope!—and our men from abroad, in the Catholic connection, must be held, it was thought, in a safe abeyance, through the wholesome durance of the law. Happy coincidence! Your *profound convictions* were admirably adapted to the faith of the American party. Your position met the demand. You was duly elected to the Senate. And why, pray, should you not have been elected? Had you not performed stupendous sacrifices? The men have lived who would have died rather than outrage truth and honor. Mistaken men! Yours was the wisdom. You preferred to survive in *success*.

Soon after you was elected you informed us *gratis*, through a public letter, that you had not solicited any man's vote. *Did gory locks annoy you? Who said you did it?* You will not deny that you secured, at the Marlboro', rooms for the occasion; and that one by one, in all due form, legislators were led, by jackalls, to your presence. And, pray, what was it that you asked them to do? *

To the American party you was no less faithless. It is scarcely necessary to recite your conduct. The devotee of self is untrue to others, except at intervals, and then by accident. Self in sovereignty is a moving Juggernaut, crushing in its course the virtues that oppose it. I may omit details. Your constant deity, having seen you to the Senate, once more changed his position. He passed from the Americans back to the Republicans, and beckoned you over to his side. You met the summons. Your American friends could no more serve

*[From a New York Tribune.]

NATICK, Saturday, March 10, 1855.

HON. GILBERT PILLSBURY:

Dear Sir— * * * * You also know that—I never travelled a single mile to secure a vote, or asked a single member of the Senate or House to vote for me.

HENRY WILSON.

Both *Quirk* and *Gammon* are proper names to put to such a statement in such a case; but when our Senator dropped his real name and took up that of Henry Wilson, it should have been to use it only in an honest way.

you. Their *mission* appeared *wrought out*! Moreover, the Republicans would probably deem their overthrow a labor of eminent merit. Did you long meditate?

"If it were *done*, when 't is done, then 't were well
It were done quickly."

The politicians of '55 will never forget your efforts to ruin the American party. The events of '54 are no less secure. Memories live.

"The times have been,
That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end; but now, they rise again,
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
And push us from our stools."

Nor yet content. Blind to the dignity of your post as senator, you continued to appear, out of place, a manœverer still in the people's affairs, presumptuous still, clamorous still, and false once more to both party and State. I refer to the events of 1856. Less obviously, perhaps, but no less surely, you acted again your political part, the ignorant or presumptuous political manœverer. For, either you were ignorant of the tendency and end of your political tactics, or you presumed on the ignorance of the people. Permit me to tell you, what, indeed, you should know, but what you seem to have wholly forgotten. *In a republic, parties, and politics, and government are inseparable. If you debauch party, you debase government.* Your steady crime is in the debauchment of party, the debasement of politics. Therein you have dishonored the cause of the Republic, and hastened the National peril.

I am aware you offer an excuse for your conduct. Considerations, you affirm, outside of the State, in the affairs of the nation, dictated your policy in the year '56, at the expense of the affairs of the State. I believe the excuse is falsely put forth. You have no right to the credit of honest intentions. An honest man, if occasionally irregular, may still be deemed honest, though wrong; while he who is habitually irregular and dishonest, has scarcely a claim to integrity of motive, even in

regular conduct; and has no claim whatever to be regarded as honest, while pursuing an *irregular* course. You was involved, no doubt, in a system of schemes in which it was a prominent aim, to secure the re-election of your friends to Congress. But if your excuse is honest, it is still invalid. A system of politics, not applicable in practice to both state and nation, without corruption to either, is a system unfit and worthless. Our parties, politics and governments, if justly conceived, organized and practiced, must work for the right in harmonious aid. The right is always in unison with the right; truth with truth; duty with duty; and he may be deemed as morally leprous who urges a abandonment of duty, a breach of fidelity, under pretext of promoting a valuable end. You appeared in '56, in the Republican Convention, still the political adept. You advised a suspension of republican functions; and urged the re-election of the American candidate, then our Governor, whom you had surreptitiously supported in 1854, and abandoned and denounced in 1855. And in aid of your ends you maligned our affairs. You decried our offices as comparatively worthless. A high official, you traduced our honors, the ancient honors of the State. It was here, moreover, to subvert once more the legitimate aims of the Republican party.

But I need not prosecute your career in detail. In the immediate relation it is sufficient to add, that, for three years still, the liberty-loving freemen of the Old Commonwealth ineffectually urged, as a legitimate aim, the just establishment of a Republican party. The consummation was secured in 1859. Organized first in 1854, in a selfish ambition you forthwith betrayed it. The party of your recourse in that year's treachery, overthrew it again in 1855. In 1856 you urged the abnegation of our legitimate aims in the affairs of the State, and we even abandoned the republican name, adopting the name of *Fremont*; while in 1857, and again in '58, we careered in contempt as "*the Banks Party*"!

And you, Senator, manipulated affairs. In all our toils you

stood forth the man of address, the advancing man, of surpassing assurance and skill. How many, pray tell us, among the legion of aspirants in those five years, how many rose through a true nobility? By the continuous manœuvres in juggles and tricks, through the debauchment of party, the disgrace of the State, the dishonor and shame of patriotic men, what principles triumphed?—what aims were secured?—how many accomplished enduring results? *Success* was achieved by a Wilson and Banks!* The rest are forgotten. But the record remains: and for yourself, we behold, in retracing the past, the wretched appliances of a political adept, by which—O high and vociferous patriot!—by which you achieved the Senatorial post. Man of Success!

* It is noticeable that Mr. Wilson is Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate; and that Mr. Banks retains a Major General's name and place. I do not propose, now, to dwell on Mr. Wilson's service as Senator; but the briefest reference to Mr. Banks may be admissible, since he, no less than Mr. Wilson, has risen by the adroit tactics that our high politicians assume; and Mr. Banks, therein, has no superior. But the wisdom of ages will vindicate itself, though Nathaniel P. Banks should fail in the process. Who but ourselves, besotted and blind from the practice of selfish politics, would have permitted, in the outset of the present war, our political seekers, however adroit, to seek and assume the *Military Commands*? But Mr. Banks was *smart*! How often have we made that declaration, as though mere *smartness*, irrespective of honor, were fit in our elevated public positions; as though mere *smartness*, without culture and practice in military affairs would suffice in the command of armies! If *smartness* were needful, and that alone, to conduct the affairs of a republic, why not go to the pit and call on Satan to furnish an ample supply? After years of waste, in blood and treasure, we begin to appreciate our errors. "Ye shall bear the sins of your idols."

[From the *New York Independent*, April 28, '64.]

The military career of General Banks is a succession of disasters, each of which is chargeable, not to his ill fortune, but to his incompetency. In the Shenandoah, where he fled before Jackson, leaving outlying detachments to be surrounded and captured; at Cedar Mountain, which was more a massacre than a battle, and which was lost by a blunder to which the last in Louisiana is a close parallel; at Port Hudson, which he repeatedly assaulted to no purpose, and with the great slaughter of his troops, and which finally fell only because Vicksburg fell; and now, lastly, at Sabine Cross Roads, Gen. Banks has shown himself inadequate to the command of an army. Yet, during this period of disasters, he has been transferred from one to another important post, charged with the direction of departments and of great campaigns, and trusted with the lives of brave soldiers. How long does the Administration mean to continue its political and military experiments with such a general?

how many compatriots in official position, having records of similar import to yours, would constitute a *rotten* Republican government? *

We have cause for alarm. Our parties and governments have become corrupt, and we continue to neglect reform. Foregoing integrity, we seem content. Place is secured at the expense of honor; official malfeasance ensues; until posts of

* It would not be difficult to maintain that, in Massachusetts, all the proper purposes of a Republican party were frustrated for the full five years referred to, through the tactics of the self-seekers who controlled our management; and that no good thing, indeed, that *nothing* was accomplished except *their* elevation and the dishonor of the State and cause. It is true, there was an active and constantly increasing anti-slavery element manifest in the Commonwealth in all that time; but this was owing, not at all to just action in the party management at home. The action was in the main corrupt. It was owing to the virtue of the people, and to the shock of that virtue from the faithlessness of the Slave Power in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the monstrous villainies of its conduct in the matters of Kansas. These things fired the public mind — not the conduct of our politicians. The vices of our opponents, not the virtues of our leaders, made Republicans of the people. Our party conduct disgraced us and kept us back. It was the mere management of a machine for selfish aspirants; and made a history of unvarying shame. It was a lesson to study!

We rely on parties to institute government; and yet, our parties are the machines of demagogues! What, then, must be the government? We are yet to learn, or we are to learn anew what we have forgotten, that, since Opinion rules in a Republic, and since Opinion differs, parties are a necessity — that they belong to the people and are for the public good; that they are therefore to be instituted in Intelligence and Morality; that they are to be so supported, and so applied. In the words of the *Tribune*, "it is not too much to hope that we shall yet learn that in a Republic the business of government belongs to the people themselves, and cannot be left with impunity in the hands of unscrupulous politicians; and that government, to answer its true purpose, must first of all be pure." It matters little, in the long run, whether our parties are democratic or republican — it matters little which dominates — provided an intelligent and virtuous public opinion, allied to liberty, underlies their policy and conduct. But alas! they have become factions. They are led in the "*spoils*" interest.

"By a *faction*, I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community."—*Federalist*, Madison.

position, from their contact with baseness, afford to patriotism no due preferment.

" When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honor is a private station."

Immorality, moreover, is malarious and pervading. When political practice becomes settled in dishonor, and then is pronounced in a fit normal state; when the political devotee, in all his baseness, is still regarded a gentleman, and his "success" demanded as "duty," a vicious infection elsewhere appears. The false becomes the rule, the true the exception; — treachery the fact of life, and honesty an accident. We sink in debasement.* In our relations to Government we may condemn ourselves in the facts which at present surround us; for the legitimate issues of our political conduct are forced directly upon our view. The patriot is saddened by a survey of affairs. He has faith in his country; he is proud of her past; but he is compelled to behold her, in the presence of the world, a Republic dishonored, a people belligerent, a spectacle of sorrow,

* The greatest political philosopher, in my judgment, that has lived in any age, a statesman of more forecast than any other man that has lived at any time, was then a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and arising in his place, and in his solemn voice he uttered these few words: "Do you know what is the general, efficient, deeply seated cause why private morals are degraded? It is because public morals have first become depraved. It is because pure morality does not govern the principal actions of life—that it does not descend to the smaller ones. It is because private interest has taken the place of disinterested sentiment in public action, that selfishness has become the law in private life. It has been said that there are two sorts of morality—the one for politics, and the other for private life. Certainly if what is passing around us really is what I see it to be, never was the falsity of such an assertion proved in a more striking and unhappy manner than in our own day. Yes, I believe that a change is taking place in our private morals of such a nature as to trouble and alarm all good citizens, and that this change proceeds in great part from what is coming to pass in our public morals." I speak without bitterness, or even, as I believe, party spirit. I am attacking men against whom I have no party animosity. But I am obliged to tell the country what is my profound and settled conviction, and it is that the public morals are becoming corrupt, and that this public corruption will bring us a new, in a short time, perhaps at an hour that is already near, a new revolution. De Tocqueville was hissed by every man that heard him, in thirty days from the utterance of that speech the king was driven from his throne, and France expiated for her crimes and corruptions by the blood of more than ten thousand of her sons.—*Judge Pierrepont.*

We are confessedly the worst governed people in the civilized world. * * * History has established the fact that when the rulers of a free nation become corrupt, the masses partake of the corruption,—the one cannot succeed in villainy without condoning with the other.—*Albany Atlas and Argus, Dec. 23, '64.*

of pity, or of malignant joy. While he beholds a cause in the assumptions of slavery, he regards, moreover, the sway of demagogues as directly conducive to the inglorious end; and he is taught anew, in the exhibitions of peril, that Liberty demands for the perpetuity of her strength, a stern integrity, a delicate honor, a lofty courage, in the men who lead in her direction and defence.

I have presented, Senator, some of the incidents that mark your progress to power. They stamp the features of your character and conduct. It needs no *Junius* to portray their infamy. The simple truth is a brand indelible. You have wronged the State. You ought to resign. Political Integrity demands an atonement; our general morality demands it; and the deed, while it would serve as a warning to others,* would, if properly performed, aid you immensely in the important work of securing a reputable name. You may still perform it. It is not too late. I appreciate the difficulties in which you are involved, and know you must struggle to subdue them. I am aware of your instinctive devotion to *self*, your faith in the *smartness* that you think has always served you, your emptiness in morality, and sad contentment in the fulness of your own immensity. Yet I also appreciate your native strength, and I do not despair. It is still in your power to respond to duty. The way lies open before you, plain in the light of truth. Your destiny remains in your own will, and God is always with the right.

"Then it shall be, because he hath sinned, and is guilty, that he shall restore that which he took violently away, or the thing which he hath deceitfully gotten."

"Next to Sincerity, remember still

Thou must resolve upon Integrity."

I repeat it, Senator. Foregoing all thought of a re-election to the Senate, you ought, forthwith, to resign. Such a sacrifice would appear in grandeur. It would command the public eye,

*When a man has been guilty of any vice, the best atonement he can make for it is, to warn others not to fall into the like. — *Spectator*.

and place you in an eminence for good. You could speak with power. It would prove your glory. You could point out the past in its devious windings, and warn your countrymen to avoid it in the future. You could resound the axiom, true though trite, that constant vigilance is the price of Liberty; and reaffirm the faltering, through an ample assurance, that politics are not from necessity impure; that the baseness manifest is mainly in the demagogue, in the lust of office, in the domination of the aspirant unscrupulously selfish. You could summon the people from their deadness to their duty; and prompt them to the combat for the triumph of integrity, through its fit emplacement in the public trusts. You could charge them, strongly, to depose their demagogues, and attend themselves to the management of affairs; and always discarding the self-seeking men, to select the best men for public positions.* This you could present as a republican duty in the neglect of which we can never prosper. You could prompt the people to promote virtue; and to permit, once more, with its sacred possession, the association of the honors and trusts of the State. You could prescribe vigilance, inculcate loyalty, and urge a full devotion to truth. You could tell us, too, that neither the intelligence we boast, nor the wealth we hold, nor their strength combined among us, could alone suffice for political success; that the sure prosperity of a free people is based in a just morality; that its developments are seen in an upright strength, in a thorough devotion to the *Commonwealth*, which is the *common good*, in a patriotic fealty to the State and Nation. And thus, at last, having often betrayed us in unmitigated baseness, you would aid us to reinstate ability and worth.'

Finally, Senator, let me freely assure you, I have no revenge

* In the address to the Democracy by Gen. Dix, the following is named among the conditions regarded as fundamental in the reorganization of the Democratic party :

4th. The selection of the ablest and best men for office, and an utter repudiation of the degrading rule of availability.

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